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The Place of Old Testament Studies in Indian Theological Education

M. H. HARRISON

Do Old Testament studies have any place at all in the training of the Christian minister in an independent India? Or is this not something foisted upon the Indian church through its connection with the West? A few voices have been raised from time to time to affirm that in this land the Old Testament is an unnecessary encumbrance to those who proclaim the gospel of Christ. A sufficient preparation for the understanding of the New Testament message, it is claimed, is to be found in the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita.1 But such views have found no favour with those responsible for the planning of Indian theological education. The teaching of subjects connected with the Old Testament has generally been given greater importance, if the number of class hours is a criterion, than any other branch of the theological curriculum, with the exception of the New Testament alone. Probably it has a greater place in Indian theological colleges than in similar institutions in the West. Nor is this unreasonable. The stress upon history and the belief in the close connection between religion and moral values which are characteristic of the Old Testament are greatly needed in the Indian church. In the West these can be largely taken for granted as part of the cultural heritage and they require no special emphasis. In India they are distinctly 'against the grain' of the prevailing Hindu environment, and the Christian enterprise requires the stress which the Old Testament places upon them. Certainly, the Old Testament is far more directly connected with the gospel of Jesus Christ, which it is the business of the future minister to learn to proclaim, than any other religious literature, whatever its value may be.2 To endeavour to understand the teaching and work of Jesus without constant reference to His Old Testament

¹ So an Indian educationalist quoted by Dr. Godfrey Phillips in his Old Testament in the World Church, p. 3. This, by the way, is a most valuable treatment of the subject and should be carefully studied by every teacher of the Old Testament in India.

² Cf. the statement of Bishop Stephen Neill in *Christian Faith Today* (Pelican Books), p. 64: 'It is . . . the historic fact that the religious experience of Israel *did* flower in Jesus Christ . . . The words and work of Jesus may be universal in their significance, but they were historically conditioned by a relationship to a historic past which is unique. To no other system, to no other process of development, does the work of Christ bear the same, or even any similar, relationship. This is a matter of plain historic fact.'

background even at the points where He transcended it, is just to misunderstand Him and to run the risk of substituting for the Christian faith another gospel which will fail to challenge India's present religious outlook.

But to recognize the importance of Old Testament study is not to solve the problem of how best to use the time allotted to it. There is evidence to show that it is sometimes regarded as an 'easy' subject, which demands no strenuous grappling with problems. Papers written by students in University examinations, especially in courses of exegesis, have sometimes suggested that the text was regarded chiefly as subject-matter for harmless homilies of a superficial character without much understanding of the main emphases of Old Testament thought. The New Testament is studied through the medium of Greek and everyone knows that that requires serious effort. But comparatively few attempt Old Testament exegesis in Hebrew, and those who do it in English frequently seem to feel that they have already enough knowledge gained from

popular sources to meet the demands of the examinations.

Actually, those who are engaged in the teaching of the Old Testament know that there is such a wealth of comparatively new knowledge that even with the most strenuous efforts the three years of the B.D. course are not sufficient for appropriating more than a small part of it. For one thing, the large extent of Old Testament literature is a problem to anyone who wishes to deal with it with any degree of thoroughness. A course in New Testament Introduction can attempt to deal with each book with a fair amount of detail; but to treat the Old on anything like the same scale is obviously impossible. Again, there is a vast amount of recent research touching upon the Old Testament and its times, the discoveries of archaeology in Palestine and the adjacent lands, the results of new methods of literary investigation, the comparative studies in the religious life of the Near Eastern countries, all of which bear upon our understanding of the word of Scripture. But where can time be found for more than a hasty introduction of these topics to the attention of the student? Thus, an immediately urgent problem for the teacher of the Old Testament is the proper selection of his material. This must be sufficiently inclusive so that the result is no fragmentary or distorted view. At the same time, sufficient attention must be given to at least some typical material so that the study does not become entirely super-

In surveying briefly the main fields of Old Testament study, I shall attempt to show what can be profitably attempted at the B.D. level in India, and at the close I shall suggest certain emphases which may well be given to the teaching of this subject in view of present opportunities and needs. I shall inevitably be drawing on the experience which I have had in teaching these subjects in Bangalore, and so I hope I may be pardoned if I give excessive weight to the practices of a single institution. I am sure that the editor of this Journal will be delighted, as I myself shall be, if this statement stirs up others to communicate the results of differing experience elsewhere.

One elementary goal which must be set before the student in our theological colleges is a fair degree of acquaintance with the actual contents of the Old Testament as read either in English or in his own mother tongue. No matter how eloquently the theological graduate can discourse on the origin of ethical monotheism or on Pentateuchal criticism,

this will hardly recommend him to his ordination examining committee or to the elders of his own church if they find that he is unable to recognize the 51st Psalm or the account of Isaiah's prophetic call. Students come to a theological college with very different degrees of preparation in this respect. Some have grown up in homes where the Bible is commonly read, others have had the advantages of an S.C.M. study group or of the Bible class of a Christian college. On the other hand, we find some, and perhaps an increasing number, whose acquaintance, especially with the Old Testament, is quite elementary. Perhaps the student is a convert from Hinduism or Islam, or he may have gone to a Government High School or College in which he received no Bible instruction whatever. At least such students will have the advantage that they will come to the study of the Old Testament with a fresh outlook. But it is important for them as well as for others to make good their previous lack of acquaintance with the Old Testament at the earliest possible moment. It is our conviction that the Bible is a fairly intelligible book even to the common reader, and that anyone who will give the matter proper attention can gain that primary acquaintance which is required through his own efforts without the assistance of special lectures on the contents of its books. In fact such lectures may defeat their purpose if they are used as a substitute for the student's independent reading. For a number of years we have endeavoured to see that this goal is actually achieved by setting an annual examination-of new students in the entrance test which they take before admission, of others by a compulsory examination held on the first day of each college year. The latter of these examinations is a fairly rigorous one which cannot be satisfied merely by the memory of Sunday School lessons, and covers the entire Bible, laying special emphasis upon the aspects of the Biblical literature which are likely to be of primary importance to the working pastor. In the last few years, we regret to say, the number of failures in this examination has been increasing, and we have now taken the further step of insisting that in case of failure in June the student must take a further examination in November. All marks are reported to the churches responsible for the student's support.

The Place of Hebrew

Ideally, it may be urged, the Old Testament should be studied in Hebrew, as the New Testament is studied in Greek. Hindus expect that professed teachers of their religion will be familiar with its fundamental texts in their classical tongues. A similar requirement is made by Islam. But in this matter it is necessary for us to face realities, and the fact is that unless we should prolong the theological course to the length required in Roman Catholic seminaries-and for economic as well as for other reasons this seems to be impracticable—there is a distinct limit to the amount of time which can be given to linguistic courses. As it is, the load of language study in India is far beyond that required in most Western institutions. To begin with, practically every student must have a high degree of proficiency in two languages as working tools, in his mother tongue in which he will be exercising his ministry, and in English in which alone he will find adequate library resources even where it is not used as the medium of instruction. Then Greek is required of all students on the B.D. level, and not all have the gift of acquiring that

language quickly. In India it is essential for the evangelistic task of the church that at least a few should have a knowledge of Sanskrit. We do not believe, then, that we should expect that every student will undertake the study of Hebrew. To learn but a smattering under compulsion is of little value, for it can be forgotten even more quickly than it can be gained, and unless there is some prospect that the knowledge will actually be used in later life, we feel that the student's time can be better employed elsewhere. On the other hand, the Indian church needs and will continue to need some from among her own sons who will become experts in Old Testament studies. They will be needed as future translators and revisers of the Bible in Indian languages, and as teachers of the Old Testament in our theological schools and colleges. At Bangalore Hebrew has been an optional subject, but one which is increasingly being chosen by our better students. Although most of those who are graduates begin Hebrew only in their second year, practically all complete the whole of the Hebrew course, doubling up in their last year so as to complete two years' work in one. Thus by confining our teaching to those who are keen students of the subject we are spared the problem of those who are merely a drag on the work of the class as a whole.

Old Testament Introduction

When I began my work at Bangalore Old Testament Introduction was required of every student. In the intervening years a change has taken place in this subject both in the West and in India. For one thing, it has been realized that the answers to the questions of date, sources, authorship, etc. can hardly be as cut and dried as was once assumed. The process by which the Old Testament has taken its present form is much more complicated than was frequently recognized by scholars in the early years of this century. But these complications have made the subject more and more difficult to teach in an elementary course. Then the question must arise as to whether every student needs to familiarize himself with all the minute detail which is involved in the study of problems of introduction for every book of the Old Testament. Our feeling here at Bangalore is that it is impossible to take the time which would be involved in doing a thorough job with the student whose main interest may be in some other branch of theological study. The questions of literary criticism, while still important, are scarcely of the same burning interest in the Christian church as they were at the end of the last century when they even furnished the occasion for trials for heresy. Very few either in India or elsewhere in the world can become quite so excited about them today. It is important that every student should gain a point of view in regard to the Old Testament which takes full account of the processes of literary composition. He should have a fair measure of acquaintance with the assured results of a century of research. In some selected cases he may go through the questions of evidence and proof for himself. But to follow in every case the methods by which the present results have been reached (and in many of these the knowledge of Hebrew is essential), seems to be beyond what is indispensable for the pastor of an ordinary Indian church. Doubtless to understand the telephone or the radio thoroughly requires a considerable knowledge of advanced physics. But thousands make satisfactory use of these conveniences without the knowledge which is necessary in order to manufacture or repair them. It is important that we have experts, but one may do an entirely reputable task in the church without the possession of detailed knowledge in just this speciality. We have therefore incorporated into the course on the History of the Hebrews, which is our fundamental course of Old Testament study, much of the literary as well as the political history of the Hebrew nation. The exegetical courses provide the opportunity for expanding this general knowledge in the case of particular books. On the other hand, for those for whom the Old Testament is a matter of special interest, we provide a more technical course in Old Testament Introduction. Although we have done little to encourage the choice of this subject, it has proved unexpectedly popular.

The Text of the Old Testament

There is one section of Introduction which in India is remarkable for the fact that no attention is paid to it. I refer to the study of the text of the Old Testament. The corresponding division of New Testament study is adequately provided for, but for some reason it has been overlooked in the case of the Old Testament. But for some purposes the study of this subject is quite as important here as in the New Testament. The translator of the Hebrew text into Indian languages must frequently decide as best he can whether to follow the Hebrew text, even when this seems improbable or quite impossible (and there are more of these cases in certain books than the casual English reader suspects), or whether to take the reading of one of the ancient translations, or whether he will accept some editor's conjecture. Too often in the past the translator has been content to follow the English authorized or revised version—a most unsatisfactory procedure from the scholarly point of view. The basis for an intelligent choice can only be founded upon a much more detailed knowledge of the materials and methods of textual criticism than is generally available in Indian theological colleges. Here we have given some elementary knowledge about manuscripts and versions in our Orientation course, but this is very far from meeting the actual need. With the astounding discoveries recently made of Old Testament manuscripts in Palestine it is remarkable that there is at present no place in the curriculum which demands a reference to them.

Detailed Exegesis

Mention has already been made of the courses for the detailed exegesis of books or rather parts of books. At present, in the Serampore plan of study, one of these is chosen from each of the main divisions of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Law, the Prophets and the Writings. Some would feel that much larger sections of the Old Testament should be studied in such courses. But it is hardly possible to see how this can be done within the available time unless the standard of study is to become much more superficial. A legend at Bangalore, possibly apocryphal, from another branch of study is to the effect that in the good old days before we were corrupted by our present affiliation with Serampore, a New Testament professor chose for his book of the year the first epistle to the Corinthians. At the end of a year of work on the part of his students they just managed to complete the second chapter! The work of the exegesis courses should be done through class discussion rather than through lectures, and the students may be asked to discover

with the help of commentaries the answers to questions either proposed by the teacher or growing out of the study of the group. The important thing is not so much the communication of a fund of information but the discovery of a method of Bible study which will in fact be continued by the future minister as a life-long habit.

The History of the Hebrews

We have kept until the end, as containing perhaps less grounds for difference of opinion, what are probably the most important parts of Old Testament study, namely, the History of the Hebrews and the Religion of Israel. These are rightly required of every student and form the centre of the work in this department. With us the History of the Hebrews is our fundamental course introducing all the work of this branch to the B.D. student. One of our greatest problems here is the limitation of the time available for its super-abundant material. We must keep in mind the purpose for which we are studying the Old Testament. We are not primarily interested in the history of Palestine as a part of the ancient history of the Near East, although such study can make valuable contributions to our outlook. We are not trying to make students into amateur archaeologists, although archaeological discovery frequently throws a vivid light upon general conditions or particular incidents in the pilgrimage of Israel. Such studies have their proper place in the world's research institutions. But our interest in the Old Testament is a far more practical and immediate one. A knowledge of the history of the Hebrew people is important to the Indian church because we see in it, as the Hebrews themselves saw, the record of the revelation of God through the history of a particular people. It is important that we see that history in a wide enough perspective so that we do not completely misinterpret it. But at the same time our own interest must be chiefly upon its religious bearing. Just because the Old Testament is so largely concerned with history, and because this course is given in the B.D. student's first year, we have frequently taken the opportunity to spend a little time at the outset in considering the meaning and the method of historical study. It is rather painful to observe that, although a large proportion of the graduate students in our College have taken Arts degrees with history as one of their special subjects, they frequently show little evidence of ever having considered the methods to be followed in coming to historical conclusions. Frequently historical study in India seems to be limited to an uncritical memorizing of facts and dates, and if the study of the History of the Hebrews can give an impetus to a different kind of historical study it may be of great value not only for Old Testament studies but for many other sections of the theological curriculum. As already mentioned, the History of the Hebrews includes with us not only political but literary history, and also the history of the Old Testament canon. This means that the course is far too full for comfort and if time could be gained from other branches it would be easy to double the amount of time given.

The Religion of Israel

The Religion of Israel is a title which is inherited from a day in which there was a necessary protest against the rigidity and lack of

historical sense which had fallen upon the Biblical theology of the time. This protest is probably no longer necessary, and there is now need for a greater emphasis upon the actual content and permanent worth of the Old Testament life and teaching. As in the case of Old Testament history much which is found in textbooks in this field is not very significant for the Christian church in its confrontation with Hinduism and Islam. It is perhaps of no more than curious interest that certain primitive ideas have survived in Hebrew religion, or that some of the same religious influences were at work in Palestine as in Syria or Babylon. True, there may be a value in showing that the religious life of mankind reveals certain common features and that the religious experience of one nation, however distinctive it may be, is not utterly separate from that of others. But this emphasis can easily be exaggerated, and what is of value to the Christian church is not so much points of likeness but of difference. The Old Testament scholar in the West has been too often tempted to a narrow specialism, and in India he needs rather constantly to ask how this knowledge can profit the church, what its relation is to the main Christian convictions of our teaching. In the future the teaching of this subject should concern itself more largely with what has been called Old Testament theology although the historical approach of the Religion of Israel need not be lost.

The Approach to the Old Testament in India

Finally, we may ask how the student and teacher of the Old Testament in India will differ in his approach to his subject from the Western writers whose textbooks are still so generally used. Surely in

many ways, of which only a few can be mentioned here.

The illustrations which will naturally be used in India will be taken from the Indian scene rather than from the West. There is little profit in instituting a comparison between the size of Palestine and that of some area in England or America when these convey little meaning to the Indian student. Frequently, customs in Hebrew culture will take on a new significance when they are compared or contrasted with the Indian parallel. In many ways the agricultural life of India stands far closer to conditions in Palestine than does the industrialized life of the West. Again in religious matters one may easily find some points of resemblance between the Canaanite Baals and their high places and the village gods of India, although here one should be on the lookout for differences too.

But with all the points of resemblance which suggest themselves the student will be struck with many great differences in outlook. Although one can see that Canaanite religious influences entered deeply into even later orthodox Hebrew religion, yet we have the deeply felt opposition of the prophets from Hosea onwards. Hindu thought has throughout the centuries largely been concerned with harmonizing opposites. Its motto may be summed up as 'Both—And'. Hebrew thought on the other hand has been uncompromising in its negatives. As in the witness of Elijah on Mount Carmel it has placed before men the alternative

'Either—Or' and has demanded a decision.

Once again, the Old Testament lays stress upon moral life as intimately connected with man's relationship to God. It may be a matter of speculation why a similar development did not take place in

India, despite promising beginnings in the Rigveda. But while moral teaching is not wholly lacking from Hinduism, it has a far different place there from what it has in Hebrew life. It will be the task of the teacher of the Old Testament in India to make clear the emphasis on the moral life at the various stages of Hebrew development, to show the dangers of legalism (a danger which is found in India as well), and the broader outlook of the prophets who surmounted this barrier to religious advance. In this connection a point of special value for India today lies in the insistence of the prophets upon justice in social relationships, their concern for the State as well as for the individual, and their insight into

the duties of citizenship. And finally, the teacher of the Old Testament will endeavour to make clear to his students that the Old Testament is concerned with God's action in history. The Old Testament, as we have pointed out, is largely concerned with historical facts, related not merely for their own sakes, but because they are viewed as the mighty acts of God. The call of Israel, the deliverance from Egypt, the making of the covenant at Sinai, the settlement in Canaan, the history of the judges and the kings, the exile and the return, the hope of a coming age, these are all matters in which the Old Testament writer thought of God as acting. He had very little place indeed for a philosophy. It may be that we shall dispute some of the interpretations of historic events to which the Old Testament writers came. But the contrast with the typical thought of India is clear, and should be made plain by detailed study. The monotheism to which the Hebrew prophets came is a very different thing from the philosophical monism of India, and it should be one of the tasks of Old Testament teaching to make this so evident in the Christian church that it will never for a moment yield to the temptation to consider all forms of religious life of equal value for the world today. There are other characteristic emphases of the Old Testament which may be stressed in teaching, its insistence on the holiness of God, its long struggle to deal satisfactorily with the problem of the existence of evil in the world which set it off from the typical thought of India, but perhaps what has been said will give some indication of the interests with which the student and teacher in India will approach his tasks.

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The entire redemptive history unfolds in two movements: the one proceeds from the many to the One; this is the Old Covenant. The other proceeds from the One to the many; this is the New Covenant, and at the very mid-point stands the expiatory deed of the death and resurrection of Christ.

O. CULLMANN

*

Whom we call God stands behind Jesus, and it is Jesus who gives, as it were, colour, light and *rupa* to God. Out of the infinite nebulousness emerges the face of Jesus. God is the unmanifested, and Jesus is the manifested. God is the *sat*, or being, and Jesus is the *cit* or intelligence, wisdom and love which indicates the nature of the being of God.

Touching the Untouchables

EMANI SAMBAYYA

Who are the Harijans?

The spot light is on the Harijans today. It is rumoured that the well-known Harijan leader, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, will embrace Buddhism on the 2,500th anniversary of Buddha, and at the same time lead a large number of his brethren into the Buddhist fold. Some of the Hindu leaders, including a member of the Madras Cabinet, uttered a warning that, in the event of their conversion to Buddhism, the Harijans would not be entitled to any of the special privileges which the Congress Govern-

ment is giving them.

Untouchability is a social institution which has no parallel in any other country, and the Indian people as a whole have no conscience about it. Mahatma Gandhi, the political genius of India, saw the danger of untouchability to the unity of India and strove for the political rehabilitation of the untouchables by means of the Poona Pact of 1932 and of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. The Poona Pact required the Harijans to vote with the Hindus on the understanding that a certain percentage of the seats in the Hindu electorate would be reserved for the Harijan candidates. The Temple Entry Movement which was championed by the Mahatma was intended to restore to the Harijans the right of worshipping the Gods of the Hindu religion. By a happy imagination Mahatmaji decided to call the untouchables 'Harijans', i.e., the people of Hari, the Vaishnavite deity of Hinduism. The depressed class community was apparently not impressed with these overtures to friendship. In 1935 Dr. Ambedkar addressed ten thousand Harijans in Nasik on the question of their conversion to some other religion. In 1936 the Ezhavas of Travancore wanted to give up all connection with Hinduism.

In all discussions about the Harijans the general presupposition is that the untouchables are a part and parcel of the Hindu community. Thus Mahatma Gandhi could say to the untouchables in Nellore,¹ 'You claim to be Hindus, you read the Scriptures; if therefore the Hindus oppress you the fault lies not in Hindu religion but in those who profess it!' It is somewhat extraordinary to say that the untouchables claim to be Hindus and that they read the Hindu Scriptures. On a number of occasions the Arya Samajists have carried out the *Suddhi* ceremony in an effort to restore to the bosom of Hinduism untouchables who had become Christians. This is indeed a strange procedure for the modern 'Aryans' when we remember that the Aryans of the Vedic times regarded these people as aliens and enemies. From time to time

¹ Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas by C. F. Andrews.

Hindu political leaders have been highly critical of the Evangelistic work of the Christian Church among the Harijans and have not hesitated to interpret it as 'sheep stealing' (presumably from the fold of Hinduism). This is a charge which is as indefensible as it is unreasonable; because Hinduism has virtually consigned the seventy millions of the original inhabitants of this land to the dung heap, and when some of these people received a new birth through the Gospel of Jesus Christ and every whit made whole, the Hindus turn round and say 'you are sheep stealing'. Therefore we may ask the question, 'who then are the Harijans?' A simple or an easy answer may not be forthcoming, but we shall be in a better position to evaluate the Hindu agitation concerning the Evangelization of the untouchables of India.

Possible Explanation

The origin of the untouchables of India is lost in obscurity, and as for their history there is none. The Code of Manu and the Epics and the Puranas contain various references to the untouchables under the name Mlechas and Candālas. Mlechas is a term which is often used by Hindu writers to denote foreigners or barbarians. In this sense the Bodo people who speak a Tibeto-Burmese dialect and who live in some parts of Northern Bengal are called Mlechas. The early Aryans sometimes used the term Mlecha to indicate the region inhabited by a people who were utterly alien to them. The region between the Himalayas and the Vindhya mountains was known as Aryavartha (the land of Aryans) and the region to the South of the Vindhya was known as the land of Mlechas, i.e. the aboriginal dwellers of India. In the later Hindu writings the Moslems of the West were called Mlechas. This goes to show that the ancestors of the untouchables who used to be known as Mlechas were really 'outsiders' so far as the Aryan pale was concerned. The Mlechas had nothing to do with the Aryans as the Jews had no dealings with the Gentiles.

Candala is another name for the Harijan in the early Sanskrit literature. The Law books of Hinduism regard the Candalas as having a peculiar place in the Aryan community. Manu defines Candala as one who is the offspring of a high caste woman by a Sudra (10: 12, 16). 'A Candala, a village pig, a dog, a menstruating woman must not look upon the Brahman when they eat. The dwelling of the Candala and Svapaca (i.e. a dog-eater) shall be outside the village. They should be apapātrās (i.e. those from whose vessels no one else would eat or drink).' (10: 51, 56.) Though the Code of Manu is an unimpeachable authority on Hindu manners and customs there is a tendency among some modern writers on Hinduism to minimize its authority. It is generally held that the Code of Manu was compiled, between the fifth and the second century B.C., by various authors of the manava tribe of Brahmans. It obtained general acceptance gradually. At the time of its composition the question of caste was not very rigid.

In some ways the origin of the untouchables is bound up with the institution and development of the caste system. After the Aryan settlement in India society became complex. The Aryan communities were surrounded by a class of 'aliens' (possibly the original dwellers of India) who resisted their advance. The Aryans in their turn looked down upon those who had been in possession of the land, and called them by

various unpleasant names such as 'Dasyus'—destroyers of the good; Rakshasas or Asuras meaning demons; and Anāsās or the nose-less folk. The black complexion of these people, their rude speech, savage yells and the sudden attacks they used to make on the Aryan settlements under the cover of darkness led the Aryans to speak of them as Rakshasas or fiends. In course of time a number of the aboriginal tribes were conquered and subjected to aryanization. The bulk of these vanquished people were brought into the servitude of the new masters. Thus the Sudras, the farming class, are partly the conquered aborigines and partly half-breeds. In time they became integrated into the Aryan community occupying the lowly position as hewers of wood and drawers of water. These folk are allowed none of the privileges which pertain to the three superior castes but are accorded the freedom of moving in and out of the Hindu homes as domestic servants. Their religious outlook is more akin to that of the Dravidians.

With the spread of the Aryan influence in India some of the aborigines who were unable to withstand the onward march of the invaders retreated into the fastness of the jungles and continued their life of primitive simplicity and freedom without harassment. The existing communities of Adivasis found in various parts of India are the descendants of this group. Tribal life, the matriarchal system, and an animistic type of religion are some of the distinguishing characteristics of these people.

Then there is the third branch of the original inhabitants of India who neither fled away from the face of their conquerors, nor consented to be aryanized. They chose to linger around the Aryan settlements retaining their own way of life. As years went by the animosity between them and the newcomers died down, and they were obliged to perform certain humble duties on behalf of the Aryans, such as the execution of those condemned to death, the disposal of dead animals, and the care of burial grounds. They refused to adopt the Aryan religion and its social institutions. They propitiated their gods and godlings with buffalo sacrifices. Though they sought to maintain their independence of the Aryans who were more prosperous, they had to work for them on their fields as serfs.

The Aryans in their turn were careful to maintain the distinction between themselves and 'the people of the land' by a policy of social segregation, resulting in untouchability and unapproachability. In time 'the people of the land' found themselves outside the framework of the Hindu caste system; they became outcastes or were cast out of the Hindu community. As Hinduism developed, the caste system also was completed and with the completion of the caste system the outcastes emerged with all their disabilities as a unique phenomenon of human society. From time to time children of irregular unions and disreputed individuals from every class of society who had for various offences forfeited their right to associate with respectable people were consigned to the outcaste community. In the course of the development of Hinduism social distinctions based on colour were further complicated by distinctions based on certain ceremonial practices and degrading functions of certain classes of persons. Thus the Pariah was a drum beater and towncrier. In East Bengal there is a non-Aryan community exclusively engaged in boating and is generally called the Candalas. The Bhangis were sweepers and scavengers; and the Chamars were the leather workers. Thus the Harijan community consists chiefly of two classes of people: those who performed the degrading duties which Manu had ordained; and those who for some reason or the other had been expelled from the Hindu castes. It is no doubt true that the Harijans have been connected with Hinduism for centuries, accepting a status of servility and degradation which was arbitrarily imposed on them. It is not easy to go beyond this and affirm that the untouchables belong to the Hindu community. But the co-existence of these two large groups of people in close proximity is not without certain important consequences. Paraiahs and Pulayans of Cochin, for instance, cherish the memory of their former greatness and regard themselves as the original owners of the land. On certain occasions the Paraiahs are allowed to pull the temple car at processions without causing any pollution. Sometimes the Harijans are considered as those who know the correct method of propitiating the local godlings; and hence in many parts of India they are considered the priests of the temple of the grama devata (the village deity). With all this the Indian untouchability is the most daring and the most thorough experiment in racial segregation in human history. the process of achieving segregation the Hindus have done incalculable harm not only to the Harijans but to themselves as well. The social segregation which was introduced in order to preserve racial purity was in course of time endowed with divine sanction. Thus Krishna could say in the Gita 'the fourfold caste system is my creation'. Manu, the lawgiver of Hinduism, while sanctioning the social segregation of the aboriginals, goes on to explain how the untouchables should live and conduct themselves. They ought to live outside the village where no-one dare enter for the fear of pollution. The Candalas should have only earthen pots in which to cook and out of which to eat their meals. They should have for dress the shroud with which corpses are covered. The descriptions of the Candalas contained in the Puranas go to show that they were short and dark people with unpleasant features and revolting habits. All this caused the Hindus to acquiesce in this iniquitous system without criticism or protest.

The condition of the Harijans in India appears to have remained unchanged through the ages. In the thirteenth century the vaishnavite preacher Ramananda preached Vishnu Bhakti to the untouchables and thereby scandalized his orthodox contemporaries. During the Muslim period a small percentage of Harijans in South India and Bengal were converted to Islam. But the condition of the bulk of them continued to be the same to this day. Even as recently as 1930 the following prohibitions stood against the adi-dravidas (the Harijans of South India) in

the Ramnad district:

that the adi-dravidas shall not wear ornaments of gold and silver;

2. that the males should not be allowed to wear their clothes below their knees and above their hips;

that no adi-dravida shall be allowed to have his hair cropped;

that their women shall not be allowed to cover the upper portion of their bodies by clothes such as ravikai;

that their women shall not be allowed to use flowers or saffron 5.

that the men shall not use umbrellas, nor should they wear 6. sandals.

In Bengal the use by a *namasudra* bridegroom of a palanquin in a marriage procession led to a disturbance. In 1930 the Kala Ram temple in Nasik was closed for a month to keep the *mahars* from entering the temple. In the census of 1931 political considerations outweighed all else and attempts were made to induce the untouchables to record themselves as 'Hindus' and nothing else. In Punjab the All-India Shraddhanand Depressed Class Mission called on the untouchables to return themselves as Arya-Hindus instead of *Achuts* (unclean folk) while the leaders of the untouchables called on their people to return themselves as *Adi-Dharmis*

(those who are of the original faith).

In 1930 the census officer of Assam referred to the untouchables by a new name: 'exterior castes'. Explaining the employment of this new term the census officer says: 'The expression as it stands connotes castes which are Hindu castes but which are outside something. What are they outside of? The answer is that they are outside of the pale of Hindu Society.' Then the officer goes on to say 'By this expression I mean castes whose water is not acceptable, and who in addition are so deficient as castes in education, wealth and influence'. The census officer concludes by saying '. . . an exterior caste may in course of time possibly become what I may call interior one'. Thus the Harijans are an enigma and cannot be quite certain whether they are the creation of Hinduism or whether they are altogether a people apart, quite independent of the Hindu community. The untouchables have a vague religion of their own quite apart from Hinduism. They are forbidden to learn or practise Hinduism. All that the Hindus have taught them is that their present degradation is due to their Karma.

The Redemption of the Outcaste

The caste system in India has reduced the untouchables to a position of hopelessness and helplessness. They depend for this very existence on people who despise them utterly. Today the practice of untouchability is made a legal offence, nonetheless it stands as a symbol of the bankruptcy of the Hindu social system. Whether Hinduism was directly responsible for the emergence of the Harijan community or not, it has proved unable to abolish it. Hinduism which claims to be the religion of the bulk of the Indian people has no answer to the problem of untouchability.

Theoretically, the Hindus cannot have fellowship with the Harijans and admit them into their fold without ceasing to be Hindus; and yet fellowship with the untouchables is the secret of Harijan uplift. Mahatma Gandhi felt that Hinduism was quite capable of abolishing untouchability, and thus proved to be an extraordinary type of Hindu! Fellowship with Harijans would spell disaster to Hinduism as a socioreligious system; but one does not see why it should not be ready to die

in order to live a larger life.

The redemption of the untouchables had begun in the first instance when some of their number had heard and received the Gospel of Jesus Christ in the nineteenth century. The Gospel told them how much God cared for them. The care and concern of the living God for man is brought home to men in the Incarnation, Death and Resurrection of God's eternal Son. How much God cared for them was perceived in a faint measure by the Harijans in the life of the Christian missionary who came to live

in their midst and bore with all their shortcomings, and in the life of the Christian pastor who was unto them as a shepherd to the flock. secret of the Harijan uplift lies in their spiritual uplift. Very often it happens that a fallen person begins to make a recovery when he comes to know how much So-and-so has loved him. For the first time in his life the Harijan hears how much the Saviour loved and suffered for him and how much He longs for the love of his poor heart. He sees something of the care of God for him in the life and work of the Christian Evangelist who lives in his midst. He thinks about it; asks to know more about the Christian faith and way of life, and decides to be baptized into this religion of God's love. Before the Harijans are admitted into the Church they have to promise to give up the worship of idols and demons; they have to attend Christian worship on Sundays; send their children to the school; and give up drinking and unclean habits such as eating carrion. They are prepared for three to six months before they are baptized. Once when a survey was made in order to find out why the untouchables became Christians, the answers furnished to a questionnaire varied a great deal, 'to marry a good girl', said one; 'to escape from the cholera goddess', said another; 'because the landlord oppressed us' was another answer; 'to fight the devil and save my children' was the testimony of another person. The motives which led people to Christ in mass movements are those which led individuals to Him anywhere and at any time. In almost every human situation motives are mixed. Anyone who genuinely desires the emancipation of the untouchables should rejoice at the transformation wrought in the lives of these unfortunate people by the power of the Gospel. The Church's work among the Harijans is a solid testimony to the fact; Harijan uplift work should begin with and aim at the spiritual uplift of these men who have been deeply wronged.

This enquiry may be concluded with two quotations, which need no comment. A Brahmin Census Officer in 1901 wrote in the Travancore

Cochin Report as follows:-

'But for these missionaries, these humble orders of Hindu Society would have for ever remained unraised . . . To the Christian missionaries belongs the credit of having gone to their humble homes and awakened them to a sense of better earthly existence . . . The heroism of raising the low from the slough of degradation and debasement was an element of civilization unknown to ancient India'

- Mr. V. A. Giri, Joint Secretary, Bharat Sevak Samaj, said in a speech in Madras on 26th April, 1955:—
- 'Dr. Ambedkar's proposal to lead 250,000 of his followers among the scheduled castes to embrace Buddhism is fraught with dangerous consequences. Once the schedule caste members are converted to Buddhism they will forfeit their claim to the various concessions provided for them as belonging to Hindu religion. They will no longer be members of the scheduled caste. They should not leave the Hindu fold at any cost.'

Johannine Mysticism

M. P. JOHN

It is doubtful whether the term mysticism is the right one to use in this connection, but there seems to be no other common word to emphasize the special religious approach that is intended, and there seems to be far less antagonism to that term and its associations than there was half a century ago. Mysticism has many forms and some of them are foreign to the Christian way of thinking, but this article is written with the conviction that there are certain elements in the Johannine presentation of Christianity that can be called mystical, which are of permanent value, and that we should attempt to appropriate these more than we usually do. It is not suggested that these are exclusively Johannine in the sense that none of the other New Testament writers is aware of them. In fact, stress will be laid on close similarity of certain of the Johannine concepts with those of Paul. The Gospel of John seems to have a greater fascination for the Indian mind, Christian as well as non-Christian, and that too gives an incentive for this study.

John's mysticism is not one that is exclusive, unusual or visionary. He does not think of the things about which he writes as being applicable to or available for only a few chosen or superior souls. His deep religious insight must be seen in his view of life as a whole, radiating its vitality and meaning from a centre that is God revealed in Christ, an abiding in Christ which gives meaning, purpose and perspective to the rest of life. His religion is an 'end-experience' to use a term that A. H. Maslow uses about love. It is self-explanatory and finds its meaning and purpose within itself for those who experience it. It is not something that has to do with obedience to commandments and fineness and accuracy of thought or expression primarily, but a personal relationship which is of such a transforming character that man no longer lives by an external law, but fulfils and more than fulfils the law with an inner spontaneity. Here there is a unity of the path and the end of the journey, of the means and the end, of striving and attaining of freedom and obedience.

We can see the main emphases of the Gospel if we take some of its central themes and try to understand the experiences that are suggested and draw some parallels from Paul and elsewhere. These themes may be looked at separately as a matter of convenience for study, but the experiences denoted always overlap, and must be understood as aspects

of the unity of the total Christian life.

It would be generally agreed that the central aspect of mystical religion in any setting is the experience of communion with ultimate reality. Whether this is seen primarily in terms of fellowship or of union, and if in terms of union, what kind of union, will depend upon the philosophical and religious presuppositions of the mystic. In the context of religious and philosophic systems that tend to think in monistic or

pantheistic terms the highest experience will be one of union in which the sense of distinctness or separation of the individual, supposed to arise from ignorance of the true nature of the self and of reality, will be lost or overcome. This would be true in the Hindu religious philosophy of advaita. It is true that some of the medieval Christian mystics, in describing their experiences, used language strangely similar to that used by monistic thinkers. Yet it seems unlikely that if these mystics were to give expression to their understanding of ultimate reality in terms of philosophy they would have used a consistent monism.

In the Fourth Gospel we see the relation between God and man at its highest and best described and symbolized in three different ways, maintaining and emphasizing aspects of truth that cannot be lost sight of without in some way distorting it. The three ways can be expressed under the concepts of fellowship, union and indwelling. These three are not to be seen as distinct experiences, but different ways of looking at the same experience, different points of view being necessary to grasp

something of the depth and richness of the experience.

Fellowship

In the opening words of the First Epistle of John, the writer expresses the purpose of the proclamation of the Gospel as the building up of a fellowship; the good news is invitation to enter into a fellowship which the believers have 'with the Father and with his son Jesus Christ'. That note is prominent in the final discourse and the high priestly prayer in the Gospel of John. 'If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.' 'I have called you friends.' 'I go and prepare a place for you, . . . that where I am, there ye may be also.' 'I have declared unto them thy name, and will declare it; that the love wherewith thou hast loved me may be in them, and I in them.'1 These verses represent an emphasis which runs through the whole of the Gospel even though the word 'fellowship' itself is not used. The relation to God is in some Indian writings understood at four levels; being in the same world; nearness; similarity; union. The gradation represented is not found in the Gospel, but the rich diversity and range that is suggested by these words are not foreign to John.

Further a dimension of the idea of fellowship which tends to be under-valued in mysticism in general is specially emphasized in this Gospel. Fellowship is not seen as a relation between the devotee and God alone. It has its compliment in the human community and human fellowship. This human fellowship is seen as founded on and flowing from the divine-human fellowship. The idea of a human fellowship that follows from the divine self-giving is realized in the Church, beginning with the closely knit group of the personal followers of Jesus. In the simile of the flock of sheep and the shepherd, in the last discourse and the high priestly prayer where the desire is expressed that 'where I am you may be also', in calling His disciples friends and brethren, and in the close correlation of the command to Peter, 'Feed my sheep' to the question, 'Lovest thou me?' we see this emphasis. The presence

¹ John 14:23; 15:15; 14:3; 17:26.

of Jesus at the wedding feast at Cana, and the concern for His mother which found expression even in the last hours of His earthly life may be referred to here as an extension of this same emphasis, even though there is no direct reference to the Church.

Union

This idea of fellowship, in its deepest sense, is not distinct in this Gospel from the idea of union with Christ and God. As union is not seen as a total loss of the self in the ultimate, but as an obedience and surrender in which one finds joy and experiences an inner transformation, fellowship and union are one here. In the parable of the vine and the branches, which the late Dr. Rufus M. Jones calls 'a parable of an organic union of God and man, an interrelation by which believers live in God and God expresses Himself through them—the Divine life circulating through all who are incorporate with the central stock', we see the same emphasis again. 'Oneness with God consists in the continuous orientation of the human personality toward the Divine so that floods of God's love and power keep running into man's soul. The vast energies of God inundate the soul of man from time to time, and every moment he lives in the consciousness of receiving them. From him proceed prayers, aspirations, longings and decisions which continually keep flowing into God. Thus there is a perpetual flux of life from God to man and then again from man to God.'1

Indwelling

This way of union is sometimes expressed in terms of 'indwelling'. The variety of expressions, Christ in us, we in Christ, Spirit in us, etc., which are used warn us against any narrow interpretation of this idea. Deissmann in his study of the Pauline phrase 'in Christ' (which and its equivalents occur 164 times in Pauline writings) has shown the centrality of this concept in Paul's thinking and also suggested that Johannine mysticism stems from this Pauline source. The importance of this concept for Paul comes out also in Schweitzer's study of Paul's 'Christmysticism'. It seems much more likely that both Paul and John are giving expression in their own different and more articulate ways to a common experience that was central in the life of the early Church than

that the latter learnt it from the former who originated it.

Our dwelling in God and His dwelling in us cannot be described as synonymous, but these two and other similar expressions (e.g. abiding in the vine, Christ's words abiding in us, etc.) are different ways of looking at the same experience of intimate personal fellowship in and through which the individual enters a new sphere of life and experiences new and transforming power within himself. As Dr. C. H. Dodd puts it, 'It is clear that for the Evangelist . . . the idea, $\hat{\epsilon}\nu$ $\Theta\epsilon\hat{\phi}$ with its correlative, ("God in us"), stands for the most intimate union conceivable between God and men. But it clearly does not mean for him . . . an impersonal inclusion, or absorption, into the divine, conceived pantheistically; nor does it mean . . . an ecstatic possession by a divine afflatus. It is so far like the former that it involves a real community of being, a sharing of life; and it is so far like the latter that it is a dynamic relation and not a

¹ A. J. Appasamy, What is Moksha, p. 68.

static, producing the effects of an incursion of divine energy through which men may speak the words and do the works of God. But it is unlike both in being a personal relation with a living God, mediated through a concrete, historical personality, in whom that relation is original and perfect. It is not a question of inhering as it were adjectivally in the absolute substance . . . It is a radically personal form of life, manifested in the concrete activity of Christ in laying down His life for His friends . . . It is by becoming first the objects of this love, and then in turn the subjects of the same love, directed towards Christ and towards one another, that we become one by mutual indwelling both with Father and Son and with one another in Him; but all this, at every stage, in terms of living action—doing the works of God, bearing fruits to His glory.'

This relation in which unity and distinction, identification and personal existence combine is seen in a slightly different way in a concept that this Gospel employs more than once. In words like 'As the Father hath sent me, so send I you', and 'As thou didst send me into the world, so I have sent them into the world', a parallelism between the relation of the disciple and Christ and that of Christ and the Father is suggested. In words like 'the Son can do nothing of his own accord, but only what he sees the Father doing . . . As the Father raises the dead and gives them life, so also the Son gives life to whom he will' and 'He that believes in me, believes not in me, but in him who sent me', and 'He that has seen me has seen the Father', it is not so much the similarity of the relation, but the unique position of Christ as mediator that is stressed. It is worth noting that the purpose of the intermediary is not so much that of keeping God and man separate as in some of the gnostic systems but that of uniting them.

Paul and John agree in emphasizing the centrality of this experience of union with Christ. The core of Paul's religious experience has been rightly called Christ-mysticism. It is a fellowship with a living, present Christ and not a doctrine about Him. That fellowship is one which calls forth the total response of obedience and surrender from the believer, and which at the same time transforms him inwardly and gives him an experience of peace and strength unknown before.

Eternal Life

Eternal life is another of the concepts which we must look at very briefly in this connection. The use of this term, rather than 'Kingdom of God' of the synoptic Gospels, is an indication of the intention of the Evangelist to present the Christian faith as essentially an inward reality. What is nearer to one than life? Eternal life in John is not a possession of man as man, but a gift that comes through fellowship with God. The possibility of the loss of life, the danger of missing it, is repeatedly emphasized in this Gospel.² Jesus calls Himself resurrection and life, and affirms that those who believe in Him have already in some measure passed out of the experience of death into that of the new life that overcomes death. In John resurrection 'may take place before bodily death, and has for its result the possession of eternal life here and now.'³

^a Dodd, op. cit., p. 148.

¹ C. H. Dodd, *The Fourth Gospel*, p. 197. ² John 3:16; 5:21; 6:53, etc.

Some scholars have found it necessary to draw a sharp distinction between life after death and eternal life.1 It is clear that these terms can be given mutually excluding contents, one based on and inseparably associated with succession in time and personal, individual fulfilment, and the other on eternity as timeless, and individuality as something to be overcome. Such a contrast is foreign to John's way of thinking. He sees time not as lost in eternity, but as fulfilled in it. Three positions have to be held together if we are to be true to this Gospel as a whole with its Hebraic background and Greek expression and its real emphasis on the actuality of the incarnation. The time process is real. It is closely related to eternity. Eternity must be seen as including rather than excluding time; time is not a 'shadow' of eternity.2

Once again we can note how close John and Paul are in their thinking. For Paul 'the Christian has already been raised with Christ; already he has passed from death to life; even now he is living eternally. Hence the resurrection of the hereafter is simply God's seal set upon the life in

Christ which the believer now possesses.'3

The idea of eternal life as a present possession may be compared and contrasted with the conception of jivan mukta in Hinduism and that of Bodhisattva in Buddhism. The terms refer to those who have achieved the end of life in a full sense, are above the limitations of this life and are supposed to be incapable of any faults. Even though there are some verses in the First Epistle of John which may seem to approximate to these concepts, John does not accept the idea that man ever finally attains the end of life here so as to be infallible. Man remains liable to fail, in spite of his sharing in eternal life.4

The Johannine and Pauline view that eternal life, life in its fullness, can be experienced here and now has parallels in some mystics who see in their mystic experiences the ultimate and final end of life. What is rare outside the Christian faith is the combination of this valuing of the present experiences of fellowship with God and an intense longing for a fuller and deeper relationship that is still to come. 'Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is,'5 is perhaps the best text that we can quote as an example of this twofold view. It is true that eschatology of the apocalyptic type that we see in the Thessalonian epistles and some sections of the synoptic Gospels is not prominent in this Gospel, but in the words of Jesus to Nathanael we have an echo of the same. The fulfilment that is expected on the one hand avoids the crude materialistic dreams and on the other delivers the believer from satisfaction with the present and from an engrossing concern for immediate experience.

Another point which we may mention in passing is the close correlation of love and life which comes out more explicitly in the First Epistle than in the Gospel, with which we can compare the emphasis that psychology now places on the relation of love as a basic necessity for healthy personal existence. What interests us here is primarily not

³ Stewart, A Man in Christ, p. 267. 4 1 John 3:19; cf. 1:18.

¹ Cf. Nairne, Eternal Life Here and Now, p. 33.

² Howard, Christianity According to St. John, p. 124.

^{5 1} John 3:2.

that modern thinking in the realm of psychology emphasizes some aspect of truth long stressed by Christianity, but that here too John comes to see life as one whole in which the dichotomy of internal and external, of duty and desire, of free grace and human merit, of divine demand and human fullness is overcome.

Knowledge and Love

The meaning given to the word knowledge in this Gospel is another example of the deep and integrated view of life that the Evangelist holds and which we have said is the essence of his mysticism. The knowledge of the Father and the Son which is eternal life and the knowledge of the truth that makes men free is not mere intellectual knowledge. It is the knowledge that follows from self-committal.¹ Dodd has said that in Greek thought 'to know God means to contemplate the ultimate reality to ontōs on in its changeless essence. For the Hebrew, to know God is to acknowledge Him in His works and respond to His claims.'² For John knowledge of God is more than both, for it is the transforming fellowship with God to which man is called, and in which he finds a life that overcomes death, because of its relation to the eternal God. The significance of Jesus' words about calling his disciples no longer servants but friends must also be sought in this experience.

We may quote here the words of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, the modern Hindu saint: 'Knowledge and love of God are ultimately one and the same. There is no difference between pure knowledge and pure love.' The Tamil saint Tirumūlar wrote: 'The ignorant say that love and God are two. No one knows that love itself is God. Whoever

knows that love itself is God shall rest in love, one with God.'4

We can only refer in passing to the importance of the teaching on the Spirit in this Gospel. Much of what we can say would be true of Pauline writings too. The concern with the Holy Spirit here is not so much a theological concern to understand the inner essence of the deity, but a practical concern of understanding the experience of new life, of transformation, of the discovery of springs of spiritual vitality that we now experience, but which do not have their source in us. The Spirit effects the union, the fellowship, the indwelling. He is not removed from the Father or the Son, but it is He who makes them real to us, and makes us close to the life of God.

St. John's Gospel is not primarily a mystical treatise, but a Gospel. It is in many ways different from the other Gospels, but as a Gospel it attempts to record 'that which we have seen with our eyes and touched with our hands' and to speak of the Word that 'became flesh and dwelt among us'. This emphasis on Jesus, on history, is one of the ways in which the Evangelist tries to avoid some of the common dangers of mystical religion, especially the tendency to lose the sense of human realities in the attempt to learn divine truths.

We have not examined in detail the passages in this Gospel that can bear a mystical interpretation, but have looked at some of the ideas that

¹ John 17:3; 8:23; cf. 7:17. ² Dodd, Fourth Gospel, p. 152.

Max Muller: Ramakrishna, His Life and Sayings, p. ix.
 Quoted by Appasamy, Christianity as Bhakti Marga, p. 104.

the writer stresses, which, we have felt, have a mystical significance. Mysticism in the Gospel is not a matter of visions, auditions, and ecstatic experiences. It is a dimension of religious life and experience which all men who have with any degree of reality turned to God realize in its lower and elementary forms. It is an integrated experience where the contradictions of head and heart, of faith and works, of ritual and inner meaning, have lost their opposition. Here knowledge of God is eternal life; abiding in the vine produces the fruit. It is an experience of fellowship and union with God where human striving and Divine help have met and joined inseparably. Here obedience is implied in love. This Gospel can, within a dozen verses, say, 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you' and 'It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing', without real contradiction.

To have life in His name, life eternal, here and now, is the end of life. It is a life in which the warring elements in our personality reach towards unity and fruition in obedience and fellowship with God, by a constant abiding in Him, by a constant listening to the voice of the true Shepherd. It is also at the same time the life of the true vine flowing through the branches, the Comforter being with us, His words abiding in us. This is life eternal to know Him. This is His truth by which we are sanctified. This is the eating of the body and the drinking of His blood whereby we have eternal life. This is the Spirit that quickeneth. This is also growing

up, into the fullness of the stature of Christ.

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Christ's legacy was neither a truth nor a collection of them, nor a character and its imaginative memory, but a faith that could not stop short of giving Him the worship reserved by all the past for God alone. And what caused this? What produced this result, so amazing, so blasphemous for Jews? It was the cross, when it came home by the resurrection through the Spirit. It was then that Jesus became the matter and not merely the master of Gospel preaching. It was then that He became Christ, indeed then when He became perfected! He became the finished Saviour only in the finished salvation, and for those who worshipped Him first, all He was to them centred in the cross and radiated from there.

P. T. FORSYTH

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Christ, the Holy One, had no *karma* of evil deeds to work out. Yet He was the man of sorrows. The *karma* of others' sins He took upon Himself. He saved men, not by ignoring sin, but by identifying Himself with human need. And this cross of Christ... is not only the measure of Christ's love. It is also the reflection of the love of God. So we think no longer of each man working out alone the inexorable *karma* of his deeds with no real God to help. Christianity instead tells us of men linked to God and to each other, of God bearing men's burdens, and men inspired, through the thought of God's love, themselves to bear each other's burdens.

S. CAVE

¹ John 6:53, 63.

Review Article

THE KERYGMA AND MODERN MAN

WILLIAM STEWART

The controversy about 'demythologizing' was launched in Germany in the middle of World War II by an essay by Rudolf Bultmann. When Karl Barth recently published his remarks on the subject, he entitled them: Rudolf Bultmann—ein Versuch ilm zu verstehen ('An Attempt to Understand Him'). If such be the position of a Karl Barth, we more ordinary mortals might well ask to be excused from even making the attempt! That, however, would be wrong, for these controversies have a way of making their sound heard in all the world and we may be sure that the repercussions of this particular one will in due course affect alike the dogmatic, the evangelistic and the apologetic task of the Church in India. The I.J.T. (Book Review in Vol. 3, No. 1) has already taken note of the theme.

There is now a considerable literature on the subject (cf. the bibliography at the end of Bartsch's volume ') and English readers are better served since the publication of the two books before us. Besides, we still have Henderson's useful guide: *Myth in the New Testament* (S.C.M.), while the B.B.C., London, has had both Bultmann

and others speak about it in their Third Programme.

Bartsch's book provides 'source material', for it prints Bultmann's original essay: 'New Testament and Mythology', criticisms by the theologians Schniewind. Lohmeyer, Thielicke and Schumann together with Bultmann's replies, and an 'English Appreciation' by Austin Farrer. The translation is well done but there

are some printing errors to be set right in a later edition.

Gogarten ², in his book, boldly undertakes to explain the whole business to us and to correct misunderstandings alike of Bultmann's critics and supporters. Alas, much of the 'explanation' is couched in remarkably obscure language and it is not made easier for us by the fact that in effect the translator, despite many gallant attempts, sometimes frankly gives up the struggle. We are presented with such statements as this:

... they understand existential either in the sense of existentialism or else in the sense of existentiell: and here Bultmann quite often comes in for some praise, but only because of a misunderstanding. For with him the term existentiell has a considerably deeper, and, if I may be allowed the word, more existentiell meaning . . . (p. 56 f).

It is hard to recognize this either as clear statement or as successful translation!

Nevertheless, Gogarten is worth grappling with and does help us to see what the controversy is all about. It is he who shows that the heart of Bultmann's concern is not the problems of modern man's special needs, but the nature of the Gospel itself. His purpose is a 'study of the nature and essence of Christian belief'. Gogarten is alarmed that so much theological and evangelistic work should overlook the unique character of the Word of God, which cannot be reduced to any familiar categories, as is attempted when the Faith is spoken of as given in concrete, objective form, subject to human inspection. The attempt so to bind it is not an act of faith but of denial: 'To objectify God and His Word is to deny Him' (p. 87). Consequently, what Bultmann is trying to do is to 'determine the *genus* of the Word of God'. In underlining this, Gogarten shows that it is faithful to the spirit of

² Demythologizing and History: by Friedrich Gogarten, translated by Neville Horton Smith. S.C.M. 7s. 6d.—obtainable from the Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta.

¹ Kerygma and Myth: A Theological Debate; edited by H. W. Bartsch and translated by R. H. Fuller. S.P.C.K. 22s, 6d.—obtainable from the S.P.C.K., St. James Church Hall, Kashmere Gate, Delhi 6.

Luther, for whom the centrality of the 'for me' and the 'for us' of the Gospel makes it meaningful. It is the truth of the familiar lines:

Though Christ our Lord a thousand times in Bethlehem be born, And not in thee, thy soul remains eternally forlorn.

Gogarten traces the Greek (and Mediaeval) view of reality which sought it not in events but beyond them in the unchanging, the metaphysical. By contrast he shows the modern 'historical understanding' which finds reality in events. He then goes on to recognize that the pursuit of neutral 'historical fact' has proved to be vain, for man is always involved in history so that 'historical understanding' means man's understanding of himself-man is responsible for the world. Having set out this theme, Gogarten then sets the problem of the relation of faith to historical fact in a balanced statement built up from two quotations, both of which have to be honoured:

For on the one side we are assured that 'faith, as faith, knows itself to be motivated, supported and substantiated by facts' and on the other side it is maintained that 'it is certainly correct to say that the objective factualness of these objective occurrences cannot as such be the basis of faith (p. 45).

He believes that our difficulty in tackling this problem is largely because of the Cartesian heritage of a sharp subject-object antithesis. He underlines the fact that there is actually neither any 'subject in itself' nor any 'object in itself' in human

experience. Man is always involved.

This is particularly applied to the Proclamation (Kerygma), for Proclamation is the work of a herald, and a herald is not a mere reporter or narrator. He is charged with a message and a message has always a person to whom it is addressed. Therefore in the Kerygma we are certainly not concerned with mere neutral 'past history' but with the living God who addresses us now. In the Kerygma the Word of God directly encounters us:

Christ the crucified and risen one comes before us in the Word of the proclaimed message and nowhere else. Nothing other than faith in this Word is in truth the Easter faith.

It is the Kerygma which we objectively encounter, but in it the living God is addressing men, nor can we ask for independent proof of this, for (to quote Bultmann himself):

The Word of preaching confronts us as the Word of God. It is not for us to question its credentials. It is we who are questioned (Bartsch, p. 41).

Gogarten thus helps us to understand the issues, but probably the larger volume will more quickly convey to readers an impression of Bultmann's purpose. It is a pleasure to read his own lucid and vigorous exposition, and his warmth of conviction carries us along. He does not shrink from controversy on his theme, and from another book (Die Frage der Entmythologisierung) we may draw this statement of his aim:

Not to make the faith acceptable to modern man but to make clear to him what Christian faith is and thereby to set him before the question of decision.

We observe first the more obvious side of the term 'demythologizing', namely the attempt to interpret the word of the Bible, in the peculiar language of its own time, so that it becomes meaningful today. Thiclicke (p. 142) notes Bultmann's presuppositions, namely that the Biblical presentation of the faith is inextricably entangled in a pre-scientific, mythological view of the universe and in the thought forms of Jewish apocalyptic and Greek Gnosticism. There can be no question of separating the message from these forms (the old 'Liberal' attempt), but there is a task of interpretation. Ought we not to add to these the fact that Bultmann as a New Testament scholar has long accepted critical conclusions far more negative than the majority of scholars find justified? Taking this along with the patent fact that he is a deeply sincere Christian believer, we find less ground for surprise at his emphasis on what seems to him to be beyond the reach of historical criticism. This was already apparent in his book Jesus written in 1929. Today in his writing about the Kerygma he gives hardly any place to the Synoptic record and deals in a highly cavalier fashion with Johannine eschatology. With a more sober acceptance of the findings of scholarship, we are at liberty to prefer with D. M. Baillie (God was in Christ) to believe that the face of the Jesus of History is not so entirely hidden from

As to the assumption that modern man is entirely a creature of the scientific age, we can only agree with those who hold that Bultmann has grossly overstated his case. He says:

It is impossible to use electric light and the wireless and to avail ourselves of modern medical and surgical discoveries, and at the same time to believe in the New Testament world of daemons and spirits (p. 5),

to which Jaspers' dry rejoinder is: 'das kann man sehr wohl' (one can very well do just that)! Modern man has shown a capacity for accepting myths quite comparable to that of pre-scientific man, and little evidence that he has become an essentially different creature. In addition, as Schniewind points out, the Bible itself shows full awareness that its 'three-storeyed' universe and other imagery do not adequately describe things which eye has not seen nor ear heard, and Jaspers reminds Bultmann that the announcement that a dead man was alive was no more credible to the Athenians of St. Paul's day than it is to the modern unbeliever.

This, however, is not the heart of Bultmann's concern. His real purpose is to find the proper meaning of the *Kerygma* as it is addressed to man today or in any generation. In his task, he has drawn heavily on existentialist philosophy, especially that of Heidegger, and he seems assured that his understanding of man is no mere theory liable to be supplanted or supplemented but a finally valid insight into reality itself. This is daring; how long is it since there were Christian thinkers who thought

the same about Hegel?

Bultmann accepts the existentialist diagnosis of man's distress, seen in the 'anxiety' of modern man, and he finds meaningful Heidegger's picture of deliverance as freedom from the past and complete openness to the future. What he does not accept is man's ability to find this deliverance by his own act. The answer comes only through the Word of God, received through the Kerygma. The conclusion, however, that what is thus given to man is a proper 'self-understanding' certainly looks inadequate and makes the whole picture highly anthropocentric.

We are indeed told that Barth's criticism is that Bultmann has substituted anthropology for theology, and while he says this is a misunderstanding, he goes far

to accepting the criticism:

I am trying to substitute anthropology for theology, for I am interpreting theological affirmations as assertions about human life (p. 107).

Here we see Bultmann taking very seriously the second half of Gogarten's balanced statement and underlining the thoroughly 'existential' nature of faith, and he clearly emphasizes that the *Kerygma* is of God. But what is the ground on which he holds this? In what way is it to be differentiated from a mystic illumination such as is offered in other systems, which might well have come though Jesus had never lived? The 'historical' kernel left in the *Kerygma* has become so tiny that, while to Bultmann it may still be vital, it is difficult to see how it could appear significant to those who approach the subject with other than Christian presuppositions. Bultmann in Europe is acutely aware of the secularist whom he would address, but how far is he aware of such religious systems as are familiar today in India? There are teachers of a relativism about all religious truth who might embarrassingly hail Bultmann as an ally. Is Thielicke right in suggesting that this is the consequence of his trying to make the Gospel answer questions which have been framed by a non-Biblical system of thought (that of the existentialists)?

What matters is the Word of God, the Proclamation. It is not bare facts which have saving power, but the facts encountered by faith. Many who saw Jesus in the flesh did not believe. The resurrection was no ordinary historical occurrence subject to the observation of neutral spectators, but that to which 'witnesses chosen before' (Acts 10:41) bear testimony. This is important truth and it is well to be so strongly reminded that the living God still reaches men each time the Proclamation comes home to the heart. But what of the first part of Gogarten's sentence? Must we not give more weight, than Bultmann seems to do, to New Testament insistence that the Kerygma concerns things seen and heard and which hands have handled? If we minimize this and profess scepticism about all details of the apostolic record, is this not to find the apostles 'false witnesses' (1 Cor. 15:15), or at least to judge unimportant what they counted it essential to record? Kierkegaard once committed himself to some statement that we need know only that Christ was crucified and risen, but clearly the evangelists did not think so! Bultmann, however, seems to share this point of view and, as Farrer points out, limits the available evidence by an

a priori assumption that he knows what God can and cannot do. Granted the profound truth in his message that the meaning of the cross and resurrection for the believer lies in what happens to him, Schniewind is surely right to point to the Biblical stress on the brute fact of what happened at Golgotha. This is recognized in the Creedal phrase, 'suffered under Pontius Pilate', but in spite of Bultmann's disclaimers one cannot feel that he has done justice to this, to the eph hapax of the New Testament, or to the Reformers' emphasis on Jesus Christ as the object of the faith by which men are justified. The relation between objective and subjective, between the two halves of Gogarten's statement, is alike more complex and more important than Bultmann implies, and his virtual substitution of an anthropological

for a christological key to the New Testament does not satisfy. Nevertheless, these writings are profoundly stimulating and it is to be acknowledged that Bultmann is calling the Church to far greater concentration on the presentation of the Gospel to modern man than it has shown. It is impressive that one whose critical conclusions are so negative should remain a Gospel preacher of such sincerity and power-surely a token that it is the living God who works, giving a faith like this to one who refuses so much of what is the anchorage for others. But does God require of His servants just this kind of test? We miss in Bultmann any recognition of the way in which the spiritual life is sustained and nurtured also through the continuity of the Church's life-yet that, too, is surely part of God's plan. Again, has Bultmann reckoned enough with the sacramental principle, the glorious mystery that God so often uses material things to minister to the life of the spirit and does not ask His children to walk continually on the high peaks of conscious, existential decision? The faith is 'motivated, supported and substantiated by facts' and Dr. Farrer rightly reminds us that historical science itself can bring us into confrontation with such facts which God can use. 'The Word became flesh.' Thereby God gave the facts, and we cannot think that the Synoptic record was just an optional extra. Certainly man is not saved by brute facts of history, but only by these as they become contemporary and bearers of His Word to him. But to modern man also those facts are made open, and the Kerygma, the proclamation of the Gospel today, still stands or falls by the truth of that recital which New Testament Scripture contains.

In the empty tomb of Jesus were born the paradox and power of Christianity, the flame and fire of the faith.

V. CHAKKARAI

Intercession is the fundamental basis of missionary activity. Preaching and intercession belong together. For it is only the praying Church that finds the right word to speak. And the preaching Church will always be thrown back, with ever-increasing intensity, upon prayer—and nowhere more than in those places where its word seems to take root . . . The labours of a missionary are an acted prayer. But they must also be

a praying activity.

E. STAUFFER

Book Reviews

THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH

The Doctrine of the Church in Anglican Theology 1547-1603: by H. F. Woodhouse. S.P.C.K., London and Post Box 1585, Delhi. 25s.

This volume, originally prepared as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Trinity College, Dublin, contains a systematic exposition of the teaching of the Anglican divines of the Tudor period on a subject which the controversies of the Reformation age forced into the forefront. It was only in the later Middle Ages that theologians began to concern themselves with the task of formulating a doctrine of the Church, but conflict with Rome on the one hand and the radical demands for a scriptural polity of those who desired to remodel the Church of England on the lines of the Reformed Churches of the continent on the other compelled her leaders to define their views of the nature of the Church. The period to which Dr. Woodhouse limits his investigation has to its credit not only the great treatise of Hooker on Ecclesiastical Polity, which has never been superseded as the standard apologia for the Church of England, but also Richard Field's 'Of the Church' which for long enjoyed the distinction of being the only comprehensive treatise on the subject written by an Englishman after the Reformation. Dr. Woodhouse has read deeply in the tomes of the Parker Society and focuses attention on writings, too often left unexplored, for which he amply justifies his claim that they made an important contribution to the formation of the Anglican tradition. The book ought, however, to be of interest to others besides those nurtured in that tradition, as its subject is now recognized to be the major topic of ecumenical discussion. Many of its readers will perhaps regret that present-day costs of book production have compelled the author to be relatively sparing in the direct quotation of extracts from his sources, since his method of summarizing opinions makes his well marshalled argument somewhat tantalizing reading for those who have no access to a library where they could verify the serried array of references in his foot-notes.

The sixteenth century divines entertained no doubts about the continuity of the Church of England: they were unanimous in asserting that the reformed Church was a true part of the ancient and universal Church and were concerned to retain much in their pre-Reformation heritage which the Puritans wished to jettison. At the same time they were one with the continental Reformers in regarding the preaching of the pure Word of God and the due administration of the sacraments according to Christ's institution as the primary marks of the Church. The necessity of combating papal claims to pre-eminence made them zealous to maintain the crown rights of the Redeemer, whom Hooker described as 'King, Emperor and Protector of the Church', though such zeal did not lead them to minimize the prerogative of the godly Prince. Most of them were immensely learned students of the Fathers and paid great deference to the verdict of antiquity, but for all of them Scripture was the only infallible court of appeal. Many of them were least happy in their endeavour to elucidate the distinction they made between the visible Church in which good and wicked men are mingled and the invisible Church of the elect: for here the influence of St. Augustine's paradoxes introduced contradictions into their teaching which gave point to the shafts of Bellarmine when he asserted that Anglicans require inward qualities to make a man a member of the Church. Hooker, however, avoided the term 'invisible' when speaking of the Church: he spoke of the true servants of God as members of the mystical body, and he and Field helped to clarify the issue by their clear recognition that the Church includes all baptized persons in her member-

ship.

How far must the Tudor divines be reckoned as normative for Anglicanism? It is Dr. Woodhouse's contention that they, rather than the Carolines, are the representative exponents of the Anglican tradition in so far as there is variance between them, though he is at pains to show that this can be exaggerated. He notes that the Tractarians did not find in them 'congenial pasture on which to feed', but insists that those who would understand their Anglican heritage must look to them as 'the rock from whence we were hewn'. The issue comes to the fore in the central chapters of the book where the author analyses with a wealth of detail their views on the ministry, succession and polity. Undoubtedly the sixteenth century divines stressed the importance of following apostolic faith and practice more strongly than the preservation of institutional continuity and even so stout an upholder of episcopacy as Hooker connects the need for it with 'regiment' and 'government' and not, as Keble acknowledged in an oft-quoted passage from his preface to his edition of 'the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity', with the validity of the sacraments. But the reviewer cannot but think that Dr. Woodhouse unduly minimizes the difference of emphasis which distinguishes the apologetic for episcopacy in the Anglican divines of the seventeenth century from that of their sixteenth century forerunners.

During the greater part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I the Anglicans were definitely on the defensive against the demand of the Puritans for a remodelling of Anglican polity and liturgy according to the Word of God and the example of 'the best reformed churches'—a demand which was, moreover, reinforced by the simultaneous attempt to subvert the constitution of the English Church by organizing a presbyterian system within its framework. When Thomas Cartwright from the Lady Margaret chair of divinity at Cambridge launched his assault on the episcopal system established by the Elizabethan settlement, both Whitgift, the future primate, and the judicious Master of the Temple refrained from opposing the Puritan claim that the presbyterian type of discipline was a part of the Gospel by claiming a similar prescription for episcopacy: hence the clear distinction which Hooker made between things necessary and things accessory, reckoning polity among the latter. It was part of the logic of such a position that those who adopted it, while affirming the apostolic origin of episcopacy and even its divine institution, should tolerate its absence in Churches which lacked bishops through no fault of their own. Consequently they refused to unchurch the foreign non-episcopal Churches and allowed them to be true parts of the catholic church professing apostolic doctrine. The issue was, of course, not complicated in the sixteenth century by the use of the phrase 'the Churches' in the denominational sense current today, the implications of which were quite alien to the thought of that period. It was the Roman Church to which some of the Tudor divines were prepared to deny the name of church rather than the reformed national Churches of the continent, though Hooker was not among their number and Field, in some respects a less uncompromising defender of episcopacy than Hooker, foreshadowed the double affinities characteristic of the Church of England by acknowledging its kinship with the Churches of the East.

In the seventeenth century, until the accession of William III, England was no longer in the van of the political struggle between the Protestant powers and the champions of the Roman Church, but there was no abrupt cessation of fraternal relations with the continental Churches, and the Anglican divines with one notable exception repeat the disclaimer of any desire to censure them for their lack of bishops. Hall, Bromhall and Thorndike, nevertheless, do use great plainness of speech in uttering their conviction that this lack was a grave defect and Jeremy Taylor voiced a growing scepticism as to the validity of the plea that the foreign churches had been compelled by an unavoidable necessity to dispense with episcopal ordination. The Scots, at any rate, rejected episcopacy as deliberately as the separatists in England. Many of the Caroline divines cherished the hope that the continental Churches would follow the lead of the Church of England by adopting episcopacy and when this expectation faded the cleavage between them became more evident. Henceforth the English Church stood forth as committed to episcopacy in a way which parted it from foreign Protestantism no less than from domestic dissent. Dr. Woodhouse himself acknowledges that one cannot say that the Anglican divines who admitted the plea of necessity in the case of the non-episcopal Churches 'would regard it as valid, if it had lasted four hundred years'. Thus, the process by which the Church of England was finally confirmed in accepting episcopacy not merely as a constitutional legacy from the past but as a principle of its life, like so many other developments in the history of the English nation, was gradual; but this consideration scarcely furnishes a warrant for diminishing the authority for those who inherit the resultant tradition of the divines who in the later phases of the development helped to form it. + NOEL CHOTA NACPUR

Ranchi

A History of the Ecumenical Movement: Edited by Ruth Rouse and Stephen C. Neill. Published by S.P.C.K. London, 1954. 32s. 6d. net. 1585, Delhi.)

This book is undoubtedly one of the most valuable contributions to the understanding of the Ecumenical Movement and Church History as a whole. It is well planned and the arrangement of the chapters helps one to follow the theme without difficulty. For a book of this kind we could not have had a better team of authors. The editors have long been in close association with the modern ecumenical move-Bishop Neill has made a careful study of most of the Church Union movements of this century. The other authors of the book are outstanding ecumenical leaders like Drs. Visser t'Hooft, Tissington Tatlow, Oliver Tomkins, Father Florovsky, Nils Ehrenstrom, and Nicholas Zernov and eminent scholars and Church Historians like Kenneth Latourette, H. R. T. Brandreth, Norman Sykes, J. T. McNeil, Martin Schmidt and D. H. Yoder. Every one of them is qualified to speak with authority

on his subject.

The greatest service done by this book is to put the understanding of the Ecumenical Movement in its right perspective. The book helps to disprove the commonly held views that the Church got disunited only in the eleventh century or in the centuries following the sixteenth and that the movements for unity are a modern phenomenon. It is clearly indicated that from its inception the Church has remained m tension between unity and disunity. The New Testament speaks of the disruptive forces at work threatening the unity of the Church and is a testimony to 'the paradox of the life of the Church, in its double character as the divinely constituted Body of Christ, and at the same time a human assemblage of very imperfect men and women' (p. 5). This paradox has run all through the Church's history, and the book presents evidence for this from all the centuries. The book also gives many instances of wellmeant attempts at conciliation leading to hostility. The first six chapters dealing with the period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries tell the story of many efforts at reunion between the different churches of the Reformation, and between the Eastern Orthodox and the churches of the West. Even though the movements for reunion did not bear much fruit in that period they prepared the way for the modern ecumenical movement. Concluding the chapter on the Nineteenth Century Approaches of Churches towards each other, H. R. T. Brandreth points out that the century which saw the most dissiparous tendencies was also the century which prepared for the greatest movement for unity (p. 305). Every religious awakening had in it insights for unity.

That the Church's Mission and Unity are intimately related is almost a commonplace in ecumenical circles. Still the importance of this truth can never be exaggerated, and the book in tracing the history of the modern ecumenical movement has shown how 'the compelling motive in all the co-operation between churches has been evangelism' (p. 402). It is also good to be reminded that in the early years of Protestant Missionary work, particularly in India, there was an interesting type of co-operation between Anglican Missionary Societies and Lutheran Missionaries

One of the important subjects receiving special attention in recent ecumenical discussions is the so-called non-theological factors or the social and cultural factors affecting the Church's unity. The book under review contains many references to facts illustrating such non-theological factors. It is pointed out, for example, that the temporal rivalries between the German Electorates of Brandenburg and Brunswick hindered the reunion negotiations between Archbishop Wake and Jablonski (pp. 159, 166). Father Florovsky's chapter has many examples of the influence of political factors on inter-church relations and moves for re-union (pp. 171 ff). He shows how ecumenical conversations came to be complicated by diplomatic intrigues and political

The chapter by Bishop Neill on Plans for Union and Reunion is one of the most valuable chapters in the book. It gives a clear picture of the extent to which the Reunion movement has spread all over the world. The book also helps to understand the extent to which doctrinal difficulties are in the way of unity. There are brief but clear accounts of how differences over the doctrines of the sacraments, the for which the book is to be commended is the good appraisal of the contribution of the 'younger churches' in the movement for unity.

Another thing that strikes the reader of the book is the contribution of individual servants of God in all periods to the cause of unity. All men of God have been in some form or other concerned about the unity of the Church, and the book gives the stories of the endeavours for unity of many devout men like Cranmer, Doddridge, John Dury, Richard Baxter and others. This history of the Ecumenical Movement certainly suggests that the movement can progress only through the leadership of committed men.

The book has been most carefully written and will certainly be a great help to all serious students of Church History. I wish, however, that more had been said about the apologetic work of the Church with reference to non-christian religions. Apart from a brief reference to Dr. Kraemer's book there is practically nothing mentioned about the apologetic task of the Church, even though the relation of the ecumenical movement to evangelism and the rôle of the younger churches is most emphatically stated. Perhaps this is not so much a criticism of the book as a reflection of an aspect of the ecumenical movement. But my main impression about the book is one of profound gratitude to all the contributors for bringing together in one volume all the relevant facts which make the harmony of the great symphony of the ecumenical movement.

Bangalore

J. R. CHANDRAN

THE LAST SUPPER

The Eucharistic Words of Jesus: by Joachim Jeremias (Blackwell), pp. 195. 18s.

The author is professor of N.T. studies at the University of Gottingen in Germany. This is a translation of the second edition of his book, first published in 1935. A list of some of its main points will immediately indicate the great interest of the contents. Most of the points will be familiar to readers of Vincent Taylor's Commentary on St. Mark, but the whole book is now available here in English for the first time.

1. St. Mark preserves the earliest tradition for the words of the Institution, and the longer text of the words in St. Luke is the true Lucan text.

St. Mark's verses (Mark 14:22 ff) may be nearly as old as the primitive kerygma. This will surprise those who assume that, because St. Paul's Epistle was written before any of the Gospels, his account is to be placed earlier than St. Mark's. The flavour of the Marcan language is highly Aramaic and Palestinian, e.g. ἐκχυνόμενον, a present participle, has an Aramaic original behind it. Aramaic present participles signify the present or the immediate future. Here the meaning originally was 'which will (soon) be shed'. Other points made are:—(a) In St. Paul (1 Cor. 11:23 ff) there is an enlargement and a development from the earliest tradition, the sayings in his case being cast in the form used in the liturgical tradition of Antioch about A.D. 40. The changes are not the work of St. Paul himself: his account of the Last Supper had long since been finished: it is a piece of strictly formulated ritual tradition. He omits some of St. Mark's Aramaisms (e.g. ἐκχυνόμενον) and remoulds the tradition for the sake of Greek-speaking churches and readers. (b) The Lucan verses (Luke 22:19 ff) originate from the same field of church-life as the Pauline ones. Codex Bezae does not give the original Lucan text (although in his first edition Prof. Jeremias held the opposite view). A Western copyist at the beginning of the second century probably omitted Luke 22:19b-20, for the sake of keeping the Christian secret in these mysteries from the uninitiated. (c) The command to repeat the rite, found only in St. Paul and St. Luke, probably did not belong to the earliest form of the account of the Last Supper. 'Nevertheless, this alone is not a sufficient reason to regard it as unhistorical, for the command to repeat the rite did not necessarily form part of the liturgical formula, since the celebration itself was its fulfilment' (p. 159). This would seem to lead to the interesting conclusion that if we wish, in a prayer of consecration, to follow the earliest rites, we should omit the words 'Do this in remembrance of me'. But if we wish to follow our Lord's words, we may leave them in. (d) The primacy of the Marcan account *still allows for our postulating a pre-Marcan form in some details, e.g. το αίμα μου $\tau \hat{\eta}_s \delta \iota a \theta \acute{\eta} \kappa \eta_s$ does not go back into Aramaic. Syriac translators find it a very difficult phrase to deal with, with its double genitive. The exact form of the phrase, therefore, is probably not Palestinian and not precisely original, although the concept is

Jesus' concept. (e) The order of events in the Marcan account is probably not original, viz., the giving of the bread and the wine both together at the end of the meal. The Lucan and the Pauline giving of the bread during the meal, and the giving of the wine much later, is more original. St. Mark reflects an alteration which probably took place in church rituals before A.D. 70 in some churches, in view of practical abuses in the conduct of the service (see 1 Cor. 11:33). In churches in Pauline and Lucan areas this change came only later.

2. The true interpretation of the Pauline and Lucan είς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν is 'that God may remember me' (and bring in His Kingdom).

3. The Last Supper was a definite Passover Meal at the Passover time, and not anything else.

All kiddush, haburoth and transferred-Passover theories are dismissed. Two questions are involved. (a) The nature of the ceremony. Professor Jeremias proves for us that the Supper shared the characteristic features of the Passover. He says that those who do not accept this are arguing from much later Passover ritual-forms than those current in our Lord's day. Though even here his discussion reveals how exceptional the Supper was anyway: 'most surprisingly Jesus adds a word of explanation to each of the Graces before and after the main meal. This was contrary to custom . . . It is even more surprising that Jesus does not partake of the cup...' (p. 140). (b) The time of the Last Supper. This section contains a mass of evidence. But it seems that in the opinion of many of those who have read the book in its German edition and are qualified to sift this complex evidence, Professor Jeremias does not here carry the argument much further. The writer certainly effectively counters, from his great knowledge of things Jewish and Rabbinic, some of the lesser arguments in favour of a non-Passover Crucifixion date. He certainly produces valuable evidence on $M\dot{\eta}$ $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\tau\hat{\eta}$ $\dot{\epsilon}o\rho\tau\hat{\eta}$, as meaning 'not in the festival-throng' (from usage in Plotinus and possibly John 7:11). Also on ἀρτος, that it can, after all, mean 'unleavened bread'. But some still feel that he pays too scant respect to the Johannine tradition on the chronology (especially John 18:28b). Moreover, as Vincent Taylor has pointed out, in six matters of detail he defends one or other of the alleged Passover 'irregularities' (such as the purchase of the linen) by the very same type of appeal to later Rabbinical decisions which he has deprecated in the discussion of the nature of the Lord's Supper. His very wealth of Rabbinic knowledge, so valuable to us elsewhere, may cloud the picture here.

It should be clear, however, that this book is a mine of information. It is also extremely readable, possessing a degree of lucidity in presentation, such as is only

found in English theological circles in the writings of Professor Dodd.

Calcutta

A. C. M. HARGREAVES

THE LIFE OF CHRIST

The Life and Ministry of Jesus: by Vincent Taylor, D.D. Macmillan & Co., London, 1954, xii plus 236 pp. 12s. 6d.

This book, presenting in an expanded form the Speaker's Lectures delivered by the author at Oxford in 1952-3, supplements his book, 'The Names of Jesus' and is preparatory to his forthcoming work on 'The Person of Christ in New Testa-

ment Teaching'.

It begins with a chapter that discusses the possibility of writing a life of Christ, in which Dr. Taylor recognizes the difficulties besetting such an enterprise due to the peculiar character of our documents, but establishes that we can, and indeed must, try to write it because of the inalienable connection of Christology with history. The next three chapters of the prolegomena evaluate the sources that we have. While Dr. Taylor accepts the value of 'form-criticism' up to a point, he is not willing to subscribe to the extreme undervaluation of the historicity of

the Gospel accounts that form critics suggest.

Basing his outline mainly on Mark's Gospel, but using the other Synoptists and even John when possible, he develops the story. The period before the Galilean ministry ends with an interval after temptation. The Galilean ministry itself is treated at some length in seventeen chapters, and here we have a brief account of the political and social background of the times and also discussions of the Kingdom of God and other leading ideas of Jesus' teaching. Before the Jerusalem ministry there is a period of withdrawal from Galilee during which the Confession of Peter and the Transfiguration take place. Suffering as a 'must' for the Messiah is seen from now on. The possibility that Jesus visited Jerusalem before the final Passover is granted. The ministry in Jerusalem leads to the passion and death. The book closes with a brief chapter on the resurrection, on a note of confidence and praise, that looks forward to His appearing again.

Those who are familiar with the author's commentary on Mark may not find much that is new in this book, but it presents the life of Christ, discussing all points of dispute and difficulty raised by modern critical scholarship, helpfully, if not always conclusively. No problem is slurred over, and there are sections on difficult topics like miracles, the cry of dereliction, the problem of betrayal by Judas, etc., amazingly

brief, but representing lifelong study and thought.

In many ways the book shows the characteristic approach of the best in British Biblical scholarship to Biblical criticism, evincing a willingness to listen to all opinions, but refusing to be easily convinced. New points of view are accepted only after thorough examination and then are assimilated with older positions still held. The book is not for the 'man in the street' who is unaware of any of the difficulties connected with the study of the Gospels, but for readers who are either familiar with them, or are willing to enter into them intelligently. There are no imaginative reconstructions where all that will not fit into the accepted scheme is omitted, but sympathetic discussion of problems, taking into account divergent opinions of scholars. The deep religious concern that characterizes the whole presentation is specially worth mentioning. The book is meant to be read with the Bible, as is seen by the eight page double column index of Biblical passages to a 225 page book.

There is a great deal in the book that will drive a reader to a deeper study of the Gospels themselves using all the aids that he can get, and will give him a deeper insight into the meaning of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus

Christ.

M. P. J.

ORIGEN ON PRAYER

Origen's Treatise on Prayer: translated and edited by E. G. Jay. S.P.C.K. 27s. 6d. (Available from S.P.C.K., Post Box 1585, Delhi.)

Origen has always been admired and revered by Christians in India not only because he lived an ascetic and disciplined life but also because his whole attitude to Christianity is particularly Eastern. Until very recently the only translations of his works available were in the Ante-Nicene Library, dating well back into the nineteenth century. With the revival of patristic study, however, Origen is coming into his own again, and in the last twenty years nearly all his major works have

been translated into English; in 1929 Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies by Dr. Tollington, in 1936 On First Principles by Dr. Butterworth, in 1953 Contra Celsum by Mr. Chadwick and in 1954 no less than three translations of his Treatise Incidentally it is to be regretted that there could not have been more co-operation between patristic scholars here, and the energies of at least two of them diverted to other works of greater importance: it is likely for example that Dr. Jay's excellent translation reviewed here will have a small sale at 27/6 when for a further 2/6 the patristic student can obtain translations of two other of Origen's works as well as two of Clement of Alexandria's. Nonetheless, with all these fruits of modern scholarship available, we look forward to a critical study of Origen's theology and philosophy by a theologian able, by reason of his Eastern background and thinking, to appreciate Origen to the full.

Dr. Jay prefaces his translation of Origen's Treatise on Prayer with an outline account of the teaching on and the practice of prayer in the first two centuries of the Church's life. Many could wish that this had been expanded beyond the forty pages allotted to it. Part II (of some thirty pages) is devoted to an account of Origen's life, works, doctrine and teaching on prayer. Part III (of one hundred and forty pages) consists of a translation of the treatise itself, together with brief notes-the present reader wishes that these could have been fuller, and less concerned with the Greek text and more with its interpretation. Origen's treatise can be divided into three parts: first in sections I—XVII the theory of prayer; second in sections XVIII—XXX, a detailed commentary, partly practical, partly exegetical, on the Lord's Prayer; and third in sections XXXI-XXXIII, practical matters; with

this third section, very brief, we need not concern ourselves here.

It might be expected that Origen would, in his teaching about the theory of prayer, be as mystical and 'gnostic' as his predecessor, Clement of Alexandria. of prayer, be as mystical and 'gnostic' as his predecessor, Clement of Alexandria. Mysticism is however, with one or two minor exceptions (in IX. 2 and XXI. 2), almost entirely missing from the Treatise; and Origen throughout regards prayer as being the duty and privilege not only of the 'gnostic' but of every true Christian. Moreover prayer, in Origen's view, is not just the exercise of the mind (as in Clement) but 'the constant activity of the whole man': 'we can say' (he writes in XII. 2) 'that the whole life of the saint is one mighty integrated prayer.' In this opening section of the treatise we may notice also: his insistence that prayer is to God the Father through Christ with the help of the Holy Spirit: his very modern attempts to answer the objections to prayer (in V and VI): his emphasis on the moral prerequisites of prayer (in VIII—X): and especially his oft-repeated dictum (from an unknown source): 'Ask for the great things, and the small things shall be added unto you' (XIV. I, etc.).

Origen's commentary on the Lord's Prayer is conspicuous for its careful if sometimes erroneous exegesis of the Greek Text: for its remarkable knowledge of

sometimes erroneous exegesis of the Greek Text: for its remarkable knowledge of scripture; and for its allegorical interpretation of Biblical passages (for example, in XXIII. 1, XXVI. 3–6). It is however marred by occasional displays of erudition (e.g., in XXVIII. 8 on the meaning of the Greek word ousia) and by examples of Origen's speculations (for example the spherical nature of the resurrection body in XXXI. 3 and the future of the soul in XXIX. 13). Throughout there runs the spirit of a man of prayer, trying to explain what prayer is to him, and how the ordinary

man may learn to pray better.

Although this can hardly be regarded as one of Origen's great works, Dr. Jay's translation should be a useful introduction to Origen as an exegete of scripture and as a man of prayer; and it is to be hoped that it will serve as a stimulus to a closer study of his more philosophical works, and will help many of those who read it to a deeper appreciation and a more real practice of prayer.

P. M.

THE CHRISTIAN STUDENTS' LIBRARY

No. 4: The Parables of Jesus: by Wilfred Scopes, M.A. (In the Christian Students' Library series, published for the Senate of Serampore by the Christian Literature Society). 136 pages, Rs.2 4as.

In his foreword, Dr. Marcus Ward, the General Editor, calls attention to the importance of parables in the field of Theology. These simple narratives in the realm of common experience were charged by Jesus with theological meanings and are the primary source of Christian truth about God.

In his introduction Mr. Scopes clarifies the student's approach to the parables. One of Jesus' qualifications as a great teacher was his genius as a poet and an artist. It has been said that the greatest thing a human soul can do is to see a thing and tell in simple form what it has seen.' This two-fold gift Jesus possessed in unique degree. He saw what was happening around him and with poetic genius distinguished meanings which illustrated the truth he had to impart. The narratives themselves are so picturesque and vivid, so pungent with the authentic flavour of life, that they are unforgettable. The form of the story holds it in the hearer's memory while the living kernel of meaning germinates in his mind, strikes root into conscience and bears fruit in life.

A valuable service is rendered the student in the sharp distinction of parable and allegory, the confusion of which has led many expositors astray. To know the true purpose of a parable is also essential to its interpretation. Valuable pointers are set up for the student's guidance in this. Many parables deal specifically with the Kingdom of God. Mr. Scopes gives a balanced and valuable analysis of the ways in which the Kingdom of God may be understood: present, future, gradually growing or sudden consummation. The second coming and final judgement and the witness of the parables to Jesus are set in a perspective which prepares the reader to be intelligently alert and discriminating.

The forty parables dealt with are grouped logically under three heads: Parables Relating to Man's Behaviour, Parables Concerned with God's Rule, Parables Dealing both with Man's Behaviour and God's Rule. In the exposition the text of each parable is printed. The explanations are given with a satisfying combination of valuable detail and brevity.

Serampore

F. C. MANLEY

Nos. 5 & 6: The Outlines of Christian Doctrine; Two volumes: by A. Marcus Ward, M.A., D.D., C.L.S., Madras. Rs.3 12as. each.

We were waiting for these books with a certain curiosity and have read them with great interest. In the first place, they are Dr. Ward's own contribution to the series which he planned and carried through until his retirement from India this year. We expected to find the exemplar of what the books of the Christian Students' Library were meant to be, and we have not been disappointed. The books are indeed primarily to be used as text-books for those taking the Serampore B.D. course, though a wider public is also envisaged. These two volumes are admirably adapted for this purpose. No one is more qualified than Dr. Ward who has spent the best part of his life as a theological teacher in India, wrestling with the problems of theology in an Indian setting, gaining a deep understanding of the minds of his pupils. These books are certainly the most suitable text-books of systematic theology which we have in India, and they will certainly be used extensively in the Indian Theological Colleges. They will be found to be much more satisfactory than the books used at present which have been written in Europe or America for students of those countries, in their idiom and presupposing their background.

The series was also planned to stimulate Indian theological studies. It may seem strange that all the volumes so far published—and at least the next two on the list are written by missionaries from abroad—are not Indian but 'Anglo-Indian theology! That is true, but still even 'Anglo-Indian' theology is a notable achievement, and these books will rank high among those notable contributions to theology which have been the fruit of many years of experience and study in India, books that could never have been written in Europe or America, and which are the necessary preliminary to original work by Indian authors. Indian theology will eventually be written in the languages of the country, and will not be fully indigenous until it is. It is the intention of Dr. Ward that the books of this series should pass into the regional languages, not by way of translation but by way of adaptation, that Indian writers should take the material, digest it and reproduce it in their own forms. These books are a challenge to Indian theologians; if they

take it up, they will be a step further towards true Indian theology. Further interest is aroused in Dr. Ward's work because it is the first comprehensive doctrinal treatise to be produced within the Church of South India since its inception. It will be examined very carefully by those who have doubts about the orthodoxy of this Church. Certain points will certainly be found to criticise,

but the main impression of massive orthodoxy is not likely to be disputed. The treatment of the main Christian doctrines, particularly the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Trinity is thorough and clear; the author is clearly familiar with the best modern theology, and never forgets the Biblical basis. On the doctrine of the Church he walks warily, stating the different views fairly and drawing much on the findings of the big conferences of recent years. The Anglican finds much to gladden his heart, and only fails to go with the author when he deals with certain points to which a Methodist is inevitably committed by the history of his communion.

The most unsatisfactory part of these books is the chapter entitled 'God the Father'. Here the lucidity and conciseness are missed. This seems to be because he is trying to cope with material provided by the modern Old Testament scholars; it is here that the old Liberal Protestant ghost, elsewhere exorcised, still retains some of his power. There are already signs that the theological reconstruction of the Old Testament theology, based on a theory of religious evolution which has dominated the scene for so long, is in need of a thorough revision, and the impression gathered from these books confirms this. The doctrine of God as presented by the critics is certainly very difficult to combine with the orthodox theology of the

Christian Church.

A very great merit of these books is that they set Christianity side by side with Hinduism, and show the peculiar theological stresses that are needed if the Indian Church is to stand up against the pervasive religious atmosphere and subtle philosophical assumptions which surround it. It is very necessary that the Indian pastor and missionary should be fortified with theology of this kind. The writer is familiar with the Hinduism of South, rather than North, India, and his acquaint-

ance with Mohammedanism appears to be mainly through books, but a teacher whose time has been mostly spent in Bangalore cannot be blamed for that.

One question which needs to be dealt with thoroughly in India is unfortunately only touched upon rather superficially: why in Christian theology has God been

called Father and not Mother?

A very un-Indian characteristic of these books (and of others) is the way in which our Blessed Lord and His Holy Apostles are spoken of by their bare names without any honorific prefix. No Hindu with any feeling of devotion would speak of Krishna, or Mohammedan of his Prophet, in such a way, and they feel that the modern Christian fashion is very irreverent, and many Christians have been brought up to feel the same.

Behala

A. P. CARLETON

EDITORIAL NOTE

Hitherto *The Indian Journal of Theology* has been issued twice a year, in March and October. It is proposed that it should be issued quarterly in 1957; further details will be announced in the October number.

Book Notices

How to Read the Bible: by Abbé Roger Poelman. Longmans, Green & Co., 1955. Available from Orient Longmans, Calcutta. 6s.

This small book (113 pages) is the English translation of a French book entitled 'Let us open the Bible'. It is intended to give the Roman Catholic laity guidance in the reading of the Bible. Beginning with the affirmation that our religion is Jesus Christ, the reader is led to go through the Bible in an attempt to know Him. Very wisely the reader is advised to start with the Gospels of Luke and John and then to go to the Old Testament books to see in them 'the things that were concerning Him'. After a survey of the Old Testament, we come to the rest of the New Testament books. Special selections are suggested for reading, giving the reader a view of the whole of Biblical history.

The book is an indication of the new and very welcome emphasis in the Roman Catholic Church on Bible study. Non-Roman Christians also will find this a very good introduction for beginners, and even though the spelling of Biblical names following the Douay-Rheims version may look somewhat strange at first, there will

be no real difficulty in following the book.

M. P. J.

The Following Feet: by Ancilla. (Published by Longmans, Green & Co.). 8s. 6d.

One of the most wonderful things in the Christian life is the fact that there are many different ways by which God calls His children to Himself. There are no rules. One may know Him suddenly, on the way to Damascus, or through struggle and rebellion over a long period of years, like St. Augustine. But I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine saith the Lord.

The writer of this book came to know her Lord by the hard way. A mystical experience was given to her when it was least expected. It brought no lasting peace, and there were to follow years of painful struggle, with occasional mountain top experiences. The end of her pursuit of truth came at the place where 'the handmaid I had preferred faded into the child I had not wanted to be, a child of the family of God', and she became a member of His Church.

A convinced humanist and agnostic, well content with her work as a teacher,

lecturer and writer, it was no easy thing to have it all gradually 'stripped' from her. At first one might think there is too much preoccupation with self and all problems as they affected herself, but gradually came the realization that others had gone this way before her. In the writings of Thomas a Kempis, St. John of the Cross, and others she found illumination and strength. At first she sought to obey this strange compelling 'power' but later she came to realize that the 'wholly other' was Christ the Son of God, and His name was Love.

There are 'efforts' at loving that will find an echo in many hearts; there is a searching for books that will teach the way, but in the end there is an honest focient was the reasonable of the Control of the C

facing up to the meaning of the Cross, and a quiet acceptance of its demands. With the leading of the Lord of Love, and in the fellowship of His Church on earth

the new beginning is made.

In reading the book one is deeply aware of the honesty of the writer and her economic use of words in trying to describe experience that can hardly be shared in words. Others who may be seeking a long tortuous way will find much to help them in this book, and for all who read it it will give cause for praise and thanks to God who calls His children, and who leads 'step by step in His way of love'.

WILMA STEWART

Portrait of Calvin: by T. H. L. Parker, S.C.M. Press. (Available at the Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Russell Street, Calcutta-16.)

This clear and readable account of the life and work of Calvin will be a great boon to those who want to be introduced to Calvin as well as to those who want to deepen their acquaintance with the French Reformer. In eight short chapters the author helps us to understand Calvin and his message. The chapter entitled *The Theologian* is a masterpiece. There is a select biography for those who want further reading on Calvin. This book will help to dispel the ignorance and prejudice regarding Calvin in the minds of many Christians.

The Song of Tranquebar: by Rt. Rev. J. Sandegren. C.L.S., Madras. 12as.

In this attractive booklet the Bishop of Tranquebar narrates briefly the history of the Tranquebar Mission as a tribute to the great pioneer missionary Ziegenbalg, the 250th anniversary of whose arrival in Tranquebar is being celebrated this year. Here is a story of vision, courage and perseverance; nay more, a witness to the enterprise of the Kingdom of God in India. Those who read *The Song of Tranquebar* will be inspired and urged to go on singing the Song of the Lamb and teach this song to many others in our land.

Towards a Theology of Missions: by Wilhelm Andersen. S.C.M. Press. 2s.

This booklet, which is the I.M.C. Research Pamphlet No. 2, deals with A Study of the Encounter between the Missionary Enterprise and the Church and its Theology. This is done within the context of the progress made in the study and interpretation of the Missionary enterprise in relation to the Church and its Theology from the first World Missionary Conference of Edinburgh 1910 to the World Missionary Conference of Willingen 1952. It is a study in historical perspective as well as a critical evaluation of Willingen's theological discussion of the Missionary obligation of the Church.

B. M.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

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The Rev. Canon E. Sambayya, Vice-Principal, Bishop's College, Calcutta.

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Books Received

Longman's:

H. N. HANCOCK: And After This?

HARRY BLAMIRES: Blessing Unbounded.

H. A. Blair: A Creed before the Creeds.

S.P.C.K.:

E. K. Talbot: Retreat Addresses.

C. K. BARRETT: The Gospel according to St. John.

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3	3.	The History of the Reformation by Henry Lefever	3	12
- 4	1.	The Parables of Jesus by Wilfred Scopes	- 2	4
5 & 6	5.	Outlines of Christian Doctrine, Vols.1 & 2, by Marcus Ward	3	12

The following books will be available soon:

- 7. The Trinity by Peter de D. May.
- 8. The Psalms by A. P. Carleton.
- 9. Jonah and Daniel by A. Hanson.
- 10. Amos by T. C. Witney and B. F. Price.
- 11. Hebrews by A. B. Elliott.
- 12. St. Mark by Geoffrey Paul.

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